291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohúa in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

304 It should be pointed out further
171 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in
882 South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé.
302 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age,
386 and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.).
[192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the
[171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé,
[462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden
302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types
[192] of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.

[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

114 302 751 There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

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however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug." know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupí differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet needle (chuánia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

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The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

572 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Bororo married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

[111:106] These data show a certain similarity between [711] Tupinambá villages and Tainpiitaua in the arrangement of the [361]

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahyptynga). In the
Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centi-
[462] meters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men.
The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the
arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (I, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhabehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon
eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable
to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated
from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet,
that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the
above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé
use totayga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
911 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the
animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens
and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates
the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are
different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters
where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases
the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows,
60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten
to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane
shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot
[237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and
other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, how-
ever, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the
cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to
the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the
details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the
point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes
the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden
points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is
omitted.]

1:Baldus--111 E-5 (1935,1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 512 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirú, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth, 171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food- 462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and carú, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

231 When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Parecí Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

243 252 262 824 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), anati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), anatí in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 252 262 824 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovĩ in Tapirapé) are pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [462] [241] [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that requires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's [751] first two years so as not to endanger his life.

197 17 247 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-
272 kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumãs by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruĩ-kauĩ. Kuruĩ may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumãs" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
●[462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykã
[192] means "I chew," and andjahãk, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[893] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272. [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is
[251] fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
[359] served among the Tauliping of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 219) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
•462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampitifua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co.; São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes." 178 622 161 554

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them. 178 582 161 (462) (554)

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life. 178 161

INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aggi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, karú (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajurú* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937. "Os grupos de trabalho e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Revista do Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111, São Paulo.

[p. 61]
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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however, are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapirapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tayassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially anduroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic subsistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kaxuiwóí, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Awánki" to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. [562] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with pepper, several varieties of karí [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut karí, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such [622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better [178] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they [559] pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk 123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Tïankanípéra," and Anupinfuya, his little [397] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anã Tïankanípéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Tïankanípéra," and I called them by the names of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The 595 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken hanãhó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, 132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tïtïkupéna of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Awánki" had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxú were the chief Tampantxúa and Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairú and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinof. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxú belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirú group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxú also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirú, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirú is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[98] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirú. On the previous day, Chief Tampantxúa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. There were bananas kãnĩ, peanut kãnĩ, cottonseed kãnĩ, toasted karĩ, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anamxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anantxí walked first, with the Vuirantxiniõ behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxiniõ.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takína and paired up for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tampantxõa and Vuĩraí, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxí. The Anantxí had now mixed with the Vuirantxiniõ. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahõ, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takína. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũtsanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhẽĩ, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahõ's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[124] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [852] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [297] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [455] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
8P22 Tapirape SP22

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, carú (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work festival (apaliriá). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaliriá, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, carú, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is the basis of their diet. Different from other Tupí groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
902 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string liga-
301 tures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young
boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these
ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round
cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given
by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and
women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug.
Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form
of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[84] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into
the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
402 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their
backs.

MANUFACTURES

256 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used
by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupi* groups.

223 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

511 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and
nonflexible cone; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quad-
rangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store
manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[533] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in
the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black
genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Opruntui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the unistructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *ruru* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is